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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 00879 01 OF 04 191119Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 KIGALI 879

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, RW
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: RWANDA ACTION PLAN

REF: (A) STATE 139160, (B) 75 KIGALI A-13

SUMMARY: CONSIDERING RWANDA'S AUTHORITARIAN TRADITIONS AND FRATRICIDAL REVOLUTION AT INDEPENDENCE, ITS HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS TODAY ARE REMARKABLY FAVORABLE. BOTH ADVERSE TRADITIONS AND ETHNIC TENSIONS REMAIN KEEN, HOWEVER, AND REACTIONARY PRESSURES COULD UNDO PROGRESSIVE POLICIES OF HABYARIMANA GOVT. CONTINUED HR PROGRESS IS THUS A KEY U.S. INTEREST IN RWANDA, CALLING FOR AFFIRMATIVE MEASURES OF ENCOURAGEMENT BY USG (1) TO BROADEN RWANDAN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR SHARED HR VALUES AND (2) TO IDENTIFY WITH AND PROMOTE GOR EFFORTS ALREADY HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. EMPHASIZING CARROT RATHER THAN STICK, EMBASSY PLAN CALLS FOR PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUBSTANTIAL OUTLAY OF RESOURCES TO ENSURE CONTINUED PROGRESS. END SUMMARY

SECTION I - GENERAL

1. HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN RWANDA MUST BE CONSIDERED IN
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00879 01 OF 04 191119Z

CONTEXT OF TWO ELEMENTAL FACTORS: (A) THE COUNTRY'S PRIMITIVE AND GENERALLY AUTHORITARIAN SOCIAL TRADITIONS, AND (B) THE TRAUMATIC, THOROUGHGOING SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF 1959-61 WHICH TOPPLED 400-YEAR OLD FEUDAL POWER STRUCTURE AND THUS DISLOCATED SOCIAL TRADITIONS.
-- TRADITIONAL RWANDAN SOCIETY HAS ONLY SCANT NOTION OF SANCTITY OF INDIVIDUAL ON WHICH WESTERN TRADITIONS OF HUMAN

RIGHTS ARE BASED. MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ARE THE SECURITY AND HARMONY OF ONE'S POSITION WITHIN LINEAL GROUP STRUCTURES (E.G., ALL-IMPORTANT INITIATION RITES WHEREIN YOUTHS UNDERGO "TORTURE" TO OBTAIN GROUP ACCEPTANCE). IN GENERAL, IT IS ONLY THE TINEY, FOREIGN-EDUCATED ELITE WHICH PLACES PREMIUM ON INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND PROTECTION OF HIS RIFHTS IN FACE OF LARGER GROUP INTERESTS. AMONG THE MASSES OF RWANDANS, 1959-61 SOCIAL REVOLUTION HAD LESS TO DO WITH SECURING INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS DENIED UNDER FEUDAL SYSTEM THAN WITH SUBSTITUTING MAJORITY (HUTU) GROUP DOMINATION IN PLACE OF MINORITY (TUTSI) RULE. BROADLY BENEFICIAL GROUP/NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS ARE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY VALUED AHEAD OF "SELFISH" INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS IN CONTEXT OF CURRENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MYSTIQUE, AND INDIVIDUALS AT ALL SOCIAL LEVELS ARE EXPECTED RPT EXPECTED TO DONATE PERSONAL TIME EACH WEEK TO "VOLUNTARY" LABOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.

-- RESULTS OF 1959-61 REVOLUTION, WHEREIN MAJORITY HUTU (90 PERCENT) OVERTURNED RULING TUTSI CASTE (9 PERCENT), REMAIN LADEN WITH IMPORTANT HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS AS WELL AS DAY-TO-DAY POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. MANY HUNDREDS WERE MASSACRED ON BOTH SIDES DURING UPHEAVAL (ALTHOUGH TUTSIS WERE BY FAR THE GREATER LOSERS; THOUSANDS OF OTHERS WERE DEPRIVED OF HOMES AND PROPERTIES AND/OR WERE FORCED INTO EXILE; AND ALTHOUGH MOST TUTSIS HAVE ADAPTED TO INFERIOR STATUS, PERSONAL BITTERNESS REMAINS KEEN. DURING DECADE FOLLOWING REVOLUTION, GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES WERE BLATANTLY "COMPENSATORY" IN AN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 00879 01 OF 04 191119Z

EFFORT TO REDRESS FAVORED POSITION PREVIOUSLY ENJOYED BY TUTSIS IN EDUCATION, JOB OPPORTUNITIES, GOVT POSITIONS. ALTHOUGH MUCH LESS SO TODAY, DISCRIMINATION REMAINS A HIGHLY-CHARGED POLITICAL DYNAMIC, AND HUTU GROUPS ARE DISTINGUISHED BY BEING "HARD" OR "SOFT" ON TUTSIS.

2. REGIME OF PRES. JEVENAL HABYARIMANA, WHO SEIZED POWER FROM LEGALLY CONSTITUTED KAYIBANDA GOVERNMENT IN JULY 1973, MIRRORS BOTH FACETS OF RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS CONTEXT. SEIZURE OF POWER CLEARLY VIOLATED CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS AND UNDERCUT DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, AND STIFF INCOMMUNICADO PRISON SENTENCES METED OUT TO SOME 30 KEY MEMBERS OF PREVIOUS REGIME WERE HARDLY IN ACCORD WITH DUE PROCESS. IN HABYARIMANA'S VIEW, HOWEVER, DEMOCRATIC NORMS AND PROCESSES HAD BEEN CORRUPTED AND "POLITICS" EXPLOITED BY A FEW FOR PERSONAL ENRICHMENT, WHILE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MASSES WAS NEGLECTED. MOREOVER, COUP-MAKERS ACCUSED KAYIBANDA REGIME OF STIMULATING ETHNIC TENSIONS (IN WAKE OF 1972 BURUNDI MASSACRES OF HUTU) TO STRENGTHEN ITS OWN POLITICAL POSITION AMONG MAJORITY.

3. CURRENT POLICIES CONTINUE TO DOWNPLAY "POLITICS" -- AND

THEREFORE POLITICAL LIBERTIES--IN FAVOR OF ENLISTING TOTAL NATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN TASKS OF DEVELOPMENT. THERE ARE NO NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOR PROMISES OF ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH LOCAL COMMUNITY COUNCILS ARE NOW CHOSEN BY NON-PARTISAN VOTE. INSTEAD, THE "MOUVEMENT" (MRND), WHICH ELSEWHERE WOULD PASS FOR UNITARY POLITICAL PARTY, IS TASKED WITH ORGANIZING AND APPORTIONING DEVELOPMENTAL BURDEN AMONG ALL SECTORS OF POPULACE, VIA AUTHORITARIAN CELLULAR STRUCTURE BUT WITH MEMBERSHIP OPEN TO ALL (ALTHOUGH EXPLICITLY BARRED FROM "POLITICAL" ACTIVITY, MRND IN FACT PLAYS QUASI-POLITICAL ROLES OF CONSULTATIVE ORGAN AND PROPAGANDA APPARATUS).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00879 02 OF 04 191432Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 KIGALI 879

4. HABYARIMANA HOLIRES ALSO FAVOR--SINCERELY, IN OUR OPINION-- FULLEST INTEGRATION OF ALL SECTORS AND ETHNIC GROUPS INTO DEVELOPMENT EFFORT. BY OPPOSING DISCRIMINATORY EXCESSES OF PREVIOUS REGIME, HABYARIMANA WENT OUT ON A LIMB IN FAVOR OF PROPORTIONAL QUOTA SYSTEM AIMED AT GUARANTEEING TUTSIS AN EQUITABLE SHARE OF JOBS, SCHOLARSHIPS, GOVT CONTRACTS, ETC. IN FACT, THANKS TO ADVANTAGES PREVIOUSLY ENJOYED BY ARISTOCRATIC TUTSIS IN EDUCATION AND TRADE, TUTSI "QUOTAS" ARE NOW GENERALLY OVERSUBSCRIBED WHILE IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO FIND QUALIFIED PERSONS TO FILL HUTU-ASSIGNED VACANCIES. LATELY, REACTION HAS SET IN AMONG HUTUS AND SOME ACCUSE HABYARIMANA OF REVERSE-FAVORITISM TOWARD TUTSIS (EXAMPLE: LION'S SHARE OF GOR BUILDING CONTRACTS AND EQUIPMENT PURCHASES GO TO TUTSI-OWNED FIRMS, AS LATTER HEAVILY DOMINATE PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR). MANY FORESEE PROBLEMS AHEAD FOR PRESIDENTN IF HE FAILE TO HEED WARNINGS FROM REACTIONARY HUTU ELEMENTS, ESPECIALLY AMONG FELLOW MILITARY OFFICERS, TO BACK AWAY FROM ETHNIC RECONCILIATION POLICIES.

5. NATURALLY ENOUGH, TRADITIONAL AUTHORITARIANISM AND ETHNIC TENSIONS COLOR RWANDA'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN NEIGHBORS AS WELL. WHILE DEPLORING AMIN'S EXCESSES, HABYARIMANA FINDS IT COMFORTABLE TO BE FRIENDS WITH MOBUTU, IMITATES HIS "GRAND-CHEF" AUTHORITARIAN STYLE, AND IS PERPLEXED BY HIS HUMAN-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 00879 02 OF 04 191432Z

RIGHTS CRITICS. RELATIONS WITH BURUNDI'S BAGAZA ARE BETTER THAN THEY WERE WITH HIS PREDECESSOR, BUT DEEPLY-FELT ENMITY TOWARD TUTSI RULE THERE WILL PROBABLY INHIBIT COOPERATION AND FUEL SECURITY WORRIES FOR MANY YEARS.

6. IN LIGHT OF FOREGOING, IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT RWANDA HAS HARKENED TO OUR OWN EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WORLDWIDE AND HAS UNDERTAKEN INITIATIVES REFLECTING A SHARED CONCERN: (A) WITHOUT BEING ASKED, HABYARIMANA SENT A MISSION TO KAMPALA TO INTERCEDE WITH HIS UNPREDICTABLE NEIGHBOR ON BEHALF OF AMCIT HUMAN RIGHTS THERE; (B) GOR REPRESENTATION ON U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAS BEEN UPGRADED AND ACTIVATED; (C) RWANDAN JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN "STRICTLY WARNED", IN A SUCCESSION OF MEETINGS WITH INTERIOR MINISTER, TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTIONALLY GUARANTEED INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF DETAINEES; AND (D), MOST NOTABLY, GOR HAS FORMALLY OFFERED TO HOST SCHOLARLY COLLOQUIUM ON "HUMAN RIGHTS AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT," TO BE ORGANIZED BY INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LAW AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IF FINANCING CAN BE SECURED.

7. RWANDAN INITIATIVES, WHILE NOTEWORTHY, SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO US, AS RWANDA MUST BE CLASSED AS A "FRONT-LINE STATE" WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF ANCIENT ETHNIC TENSIONS AND WELL-REMEMBERED BLOODSHED, INTERNAL CONFLICTS OVER MAJORITY RULE VERSUS MINORITY RIGHTS, INTEGRATION VERSUS DISCRIMINATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT VERSUS POLITICAL DISSENT, AND STATE CONTROL VERSUS FREE ENTERPRISE--FAR FROM ACADEMIC OR ALTRUISTIC QUESTIONS, THESE CONFLICTS POSE DAILY DILEMMAS FOR RWANDAN LEADERS AND HEIGHTEN THEIR SENSITIVITY TO SIMILAR CONFLICTS ELSEWHERE. HABYARIMANA'S GOR UNABASHEDLY WANTS TO ALLY ITSELF WITH US ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BOTH TO WIN MORE AID DOLLARS AND TO GAIN OUR POLITICAL BLESSING FOR ITS OWN PROGRESSIVE BUT CONTROVERSIAL ETHNIC POLICIES. WE SHOULD AVAIL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00879 02 OF 04 191432Z

OURSELVES OF OPPORTUNITIES AT HAND (SEE SECTION III) TO ENCOURAGE RWANDANS IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS, BUT WE SHOULD TAKE GREAT CARE WITH OUR RHETORIC, GESTURES, AND DEMARCHES TO REMEMBER THAT VALUES WE ARE PROMOTING ARE HIGHLY CONTENTIOUS ONES HERE.

SECTION II - CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RWANDA

1. RESPECT FOR INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON. WITHIN CONTEXT OF TRADITIONAL RWANDAN VALUES AS OUTLINED SECTION I (GROUP INTERESTS PRECEDE THOSE OF INDIVIDUAL), RUANDAN AUTHORITIES ARE GENERALLY RESPECTFUL OF PERSONAL FREEDOMS.

--SYSTEMATIC PRACTICE OF TORTURE; CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENT; OR INVASION OF THE HOME ARE UNKNOWN.

--ARBITRARY ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OCCUR MORE FREQUENTLY, AS LEGAL STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR IN MODERN SECTOR (AS OPPOSED TO TRADITIONAL CODES) ARE POORLY UNDERSTOOD AND EASILY VIOLATED--

E.G., DOZENS OF KIGALI PROSTITUTES REGULARLY ROUNDED UP AND INTERNED WITHOUT DUE PROCESS FOR WEEKS AT A TIME; OR MIGRANTS FROM RURAL AREAS UPROOTED AND SENT BACK HOME FOR LACK OF WORK PERMITS.

-- DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL CERTAINLY OCCURRED WITH RESPECT TO SOME 30 KEY LEADERS OF PREVIOUS REGIME FOLLOWING HABYARIMANA COUP IN 1973&, BUT NO SUCH POLITICAL TRIALS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE OCCURRED SINCE. MORE OFTEN, DENIAL OF FAIR TRIAL RESULTS SIMPLY FROM RWANDA'S ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF TRAINED LAWYERS AND JURISTS, AS COMPETENT PERSONNEL ARE ASSIGNED MORE PRESSING DUTIES IN OTHER BRANCHES OF GOR.

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00879 03 OF 04 191455Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 KIGALI 879

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES. AS INDICATED IN SECTION I, HABYARIMANA'S SEIZURE OF POQR IN 1973 ENDED PERIOD OF "POLITICS", WHICH ARE NOW BANNED, AND INTRODUCED ERA OF "NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT" WHICH OSTENSIBLY WAS NEGLECTED BY PREVIOUS REGIME. ALTHOUGH RWANDANS MAKE NO SUCH CLAIMS, OUTSIDER MIGHT ARGUE PRESENT REGIME PRACTICES "GUIDED" OR

"PARTICIPATORY" DEMOCRACY THROUGH UNITARY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (MRND), THROUGH WHICH ALL RWANDANS ARE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN EFFORTS FOR DEVELOPMENT.

-- FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, RELIGION, ASSEMBLY ARE GENERALLY RESPECTED WITHIN THESE BOUNDS (ALTHOUGH A PUBLIC ASSEMBLY TO MANIFEST OPPOSITION TO PRESENT REGIME IS UNTHINKABLE IN TERMS OF RWANDAN TRADITION).

--FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS LIMITED (A) BY GOR POLICIES TO RESTRAIN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION, AND (B) BY STRICT LIMITS ON ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS IN FAVOR OF THOSE IN THE REGIME'S GOOD VRACES. ON OTHER HAND, FREEDOM OF IN-COUNTRY MOVEMENT HAS BEEN GREATLY LIBERALIZED UNDER HABYARIMANA, AND EMIGRATION INTO NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES FROM OVER-POPULATED RWANDA IS ACTIVELY ENCOURAGED.

--DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESSES, AS INDICATED ABOVE, ARE IN ABEYANCE ALTHOUGH GOR HAS IN PAST YEAR ENCOURAGED SELECTION OF LOCAL COMMUNITY COUNCILS BY POPULAR VOTE.

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00879 03 OF 04 191455Z

3. RESPECT FOR BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE, AND EDUCATION. FROM OUTSET IN 1973, HABYARIMANA REGIME HAS CLAIMED (AND CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATED) THAT ITS INTERVENTION WAS AIMED AT SATISFYING MATERIAL NEEDS OF IMPOVERISHED RWANDAN MASSES WHICH "POLITICIANS" OF PREVIOUS GOVT HAD DISREGARDED. MRND OSTENSIBLY SERVES AS SUBSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL PARTY AIMED INSTEAD AT INVOLVING MASSES IN DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORT. AND NATIONAL 5-YEAR PLAN FOCUSES THOSE EFFORTS ON MEETING BASIC NEEDS OF FOOD PRODUCTION, HELATH, HOUSING, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, PRIMARILY IN RURAL AREAS WHERE 97 PERCENT OF RWANDANS LIVE.

--GOR POLICIES ARE EXEMPLARY IN THEIR ATTENTION TO NEEDS OF THE POOR, CATEGORY IN WHICH ALMOST RWANDANS FIT. FIVE-YEAR PLAN IS A MODEL IN THIS REGARD. NEVERTHELESS, EXCESSIVE ATTENTION HAS BEEN PAID IN PAST TWO YEARS TO CONSTRUCTING FACILITIES TO HOUSE OCAM AND OTHER VISITING CHIEFS OF STATE. AND 19 PERCENT OF GOR ORDINARY BUDGET GOES TO MINISTRY OF DEFENSE (MOSTLY FOR SOLDIER SALARIES).

-- CORRUPTION IS SMALL-SCALE. SENIOR GOVT AND MILITARY OFFICERS ARE ALLEWED TO SUPPLEMENT INCOMES VIA PRIVATE BUSINESSES, MANY OF WHICH WIN GOVT CONTRACTS OR OBTAIN PREFERENTIAL BANK LOANS BY DUBIOUS MEANS. OTHER HAVE REPORTEDLY STOLEN FOREIGN-DONATED SUPPLIES, INCLUDING MEDICINES AND FOODSTUFFS. LATTER ARE GENERALLY PUNISHED IF APPREHENDED, BUT CONTROLS ARE LAX.

4. LEVEL OF GOVT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD: ALMOST TOTAL, BUT SEE DISCUSSION IN SECTION I.

5. RECORD REGARDING INVESTIGATION OF HR VIOLATIONS. SENSITIVE TO ITS OWN TRAGIC HISTORY AND OUTSIDE CRITICISM, RWANDA HAS

BEEN COOL TOWARD PERCEIVED CHALLENGES TO "NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY."
UNHCR REPS GOT NOWHERE WITH ATTEMPTS TO INVESTIGATE AND
MODERATE ETHNIC BLOODLETTING UNDER KAYIBANDA REGIME IN EARLY
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00879 03 OF 04 191455Z

SIXTIES. AND HABYARIMANA GOVT HAS BEEN SIMILARLY UNWILLING
TO ALLOW OUTSIDERS TO PROBE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS,
SOME 30-ODD HELD IN REPUTEDLY DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS OF NEGLECT
SINCE 1973.

SECTION III - ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. LEGITIMATE OBJECTIVES. GIVEN BACKDROP OF TRADITIONAL
AUTHORITARIANISM AND ETHNIC STRIFE, PRESENT RWANDAN CONDITIONS
AND GOR POLICIES ARE EXTRAORDINARILY FAVORABLE. KIGALI PARM
CITES CONTINUED PROGRESS ON ETHNIC/HR QUESTIONS AS A KEY U.S.
INTEREST HERE AND CALLS FOR ACTIVE ENCOURAGEMENT ON OUR PART.
IT ALSO IDENTIFIES DANGERS IN RESENTMENT AND DISCONTENT OVER
PROGRESSIVE ETHNIC POLICIES AMONG PRES. HABYARIMANA'S POTENTIAL
RIVALS, WHO MIGHT ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT REACTIONARY SENTIMENT
AGAINST HIM AMONG HUTU MASSES. OUR OBJECTIVES THEREFORE SHOULD
BE (A) TO BROADEN RWANDAN UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS VALUES
AND U.S. STANCE, AND (B) TO IDENTIFY WITH AND ENCOURAGE GOR
EFFORTS ALREADY AIMED IN RIGHT DIRECTION.

2. WE STRONGLY BELIEVE IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND
HARMFUL TO HR INTERESTS OF MOST RWANDANS FOR US TO FOCUS
DISPROPORTIONATE ATTENTION ON RELATIVELY MINOR FLAWS IN CURRENT
PICTURE. WE CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO AMELIORATING THOSE
SITUATIONS BY MORE SUBTLE STRATEGY EMPHASIZING POSITIVE SIDE
(REMARKABLE IN ITSELF) AND STRENGTHENING HAND OF RWANDAN
LEADERS MOST SENSITIVE TO HR VALUES. OUR NEGATIVE LEVERAGE IS
ALMOST NIL IN ANY CASE AND COULD ONLY SERVE TO UNDERCUT
PRESIDENT'S ENLIGHTENED EFFORTS.

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00879 04 OF 04 191535Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 KIGALI 879

3. RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

A. PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE. OUTRAGEOUS AS IT MIGHT SEEM TO PRAISE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT WHO OUSTED CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME IN 1973, HABYARIMANA'S PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO COMMONLY-SHARED HR VALUES DESERVES OUR RECOGNITION. AS INDICATED ABOVE, HIS ENLIGHTENED POLICIES IN FAVOR OF WIDER PARTICIPATION AND IMPROVED WELLBEING OF RWANDAN MASSES, INCLUDING MINORITIES, FLY IN THE FACE OF BOTH TRADITION AND CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL WISDOM. HIS PROGRESSIVE GAINS ARE TENUOUS AND COULD EASILY BE REVERSED. A PRIVATE MESSAGE OF APPRECIATION FROM PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY REINFORCE HABYARIMANA'S COMMITMENT.

B. SUPPORT FOR HR COLLOQUIUM. GOR LEADERS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT, ARE CURRENTLY BAFFLED AT OUR RETICENCE IN ACCORDING OUR BLESSING AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO PROPOSED SCHOLARLY COLLOQUIUM ON "HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA" (NOTED IN SECTION II--SEE ALSO KIGALI'S 319). I SHARE THEIR BAFFLEMENT. I KNOW OF NO OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRY TO HAVE UNDERTAKEN ANY SIMILAR INITIATIVE TO COME TO GRIPS SERIOUSLY WITH PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF OUR RHETORIC AND ALLEGED CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN HR VALUES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. PROJECT OBVIOUSLY ACCORDS WITH OUR HR RHETORIC, AND WHILE IT MAY ENTAIL SOME POLITICAL RISKS FOR RWANDA, GOR IS PREPARED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 00879 04 OF 04 191535Z

RUN THOSE RISKS. WITH WHATEVER CAVEATS, WE SHOULD PROMPTLY ASSURE GOR THAT PROJECT HAS OUR EARNEST SUPPORT.

C. PRISON REFORM. TWO YEARS AGO, GOR APPEALED TO ICRC FOR HELP IN REFORMING PRISON SYSTEM AND ALLEVIATING DEPLORABLE DETENTION CONDITIONS. AFTER INITIAL ATTEMPT, ICRC BALKED OVER GOR REFUSAL TO GRANT ACCESS FIRST OF ALL TO POLITICAL PRISONERS (FEWER THAN ONE PERCENT OF TOTAL PRISON POPULATION). PRACTICAL OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS AND HUMANIZE SYSTEM WAS THUS SACRIFICED TO "PRINCIPLE". IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, HABYARIMANA CONTINUES TO DEPLORE OVERCROWDED PRISON CONDITIONS AND ABUSE OF DETAINEES' RIGHTS, BUT HE LACKS MEANS TO IMPROVE SITUATION. WE SHOULD FIND WAY AROUND OUR OWN LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS THIS REGARD AND OFFER HELP (1) IN BETTERING MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN PRISONS, (2) IN

FOSTERING REHABILITATION PROGRAMS (GOR NOW UNDERTAKING LAUDABLE EXPERIMENTS IN THIS FIELD), AND (3) IN PROMOTING UNDERSTANDING OF DUE PROCESS, THROUGH PRACTICAL TRAINING FOR MAGISTRATES AND PRISON OFFICIALS.

D. LEGAL TRAINING. AS RWANDAN SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT (AND UNHRC REP) HAS NOTED, RESPECT FOR LAW QND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS CANNOT PROSPER WHERE THERE ARE NO TRAINED LAWYERS. RWANDA NOW HAS ONLY ONE PRACTICINW LAWYER AND TWO TRAINED JURISTS. FIRST TWENTY GRADUATES OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY'S FEEBLE LAW SCHOOL WILL NOT EMERGE UNTIL NEXT YEAR. AS WITH FEW BELGIAN-TRAINED LAW GRADS, MOST WILL BE ABSORBED INTO FUNCTIONS OUTSIDE JUDICIAL BRANCH. UNIVERSITY LAW PROGRAM BADLY NEEDS STRENGTHENING AND ENLARGING; A.I.D. SHOULD ACTIVELY CONSIDER WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO TRAIN MORE RWANDAN JURISTS AND THUS ENHANCE RESPECT FOR LEGAL PROCESS.

E. "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY". RWANDAN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR OWN CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00879 04 OF 04 191535Z

HR VALUES AND EFFORTS IS PRIMITIVE, TO SAY THE LEAST. WE BELIEVE IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING WOULD FOSTER ACCEPTANCE AND EVEN IMITATION, BUT WITH NO PAO AND MINISCULE INFO RESOURCES WE LACK MEANS TO DO THIS JOB. FOR HR REASONS ALONE, USIA WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN "REOPENING" POST IN KIGALI. WE URGE THAT PAO AND NEEDED RESOURCES BE ASSIGNED SOONEST.

F. ASSISTING POOREST PEOPLES. BOTH RWANDAN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AND OUR OWN ASSISTANCE PLANS EMPHASIZE HR CATEGORY THREE: "BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE, AND EDUCATION" OF RURAL POOR. BUT GOOD INTENTIONS DO NOT ASSURE THESE RIGHTS. RWANDAN RESOURCES ARE PTITFUL, WHILE OUR OWN A.I.D. AND PC EFFORTS ARE GLACIALLY SLOW IN MATERIALIZING. YET APPROPRIATE PROJECTS ABOUND. IF WE ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT CATEGORY THREE, WE SHOULD BEND OUR EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF RWANDA'S AND SPEED COOPERATION OF SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER MAGNITUDE TO MEET THESE HUMAN NEEDS. GOR IS WATCHING OUR AID PERFORMANCE CLOSELY--AND RIGHT NOW WITH SKEPTICISM--AS A TEST OF OUR REAL COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. CRIGLER

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TAGS: SHUM, RW
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